

ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

(Formerly PRIMITIVE MAN)

Publication of The Catholic Anthropological Conference

JANUARY, 1956

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Edited by the Department of Anthropology, The Catholic University of America.

Published quarterly, January, April, July, and October, by The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D.C. Subscription price: Yearly \$3.00. Single number 75 cents.

Business communications, including subscriptions and changes of address, should be addressed to The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D.C. Please address all manuscripts and editorial correspondence to the Editor, Department of Anthropology, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D.C.

(Second Printing --- November 1966)

Edited
by
The Department of Anthropology
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
OF
AMERICA
for
THE CATHOLIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

THE HAITIAN SCHISM: 1804-1860

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All anthropologists seem to agree that the historical background calls for much attention in the study of Haitian society.¹ Considering such circumstances, it is surprising to see how neglected the subject of the Haitian schism has been. A short glance will show how many basic features of the culture of Haiti may be traced to that eventful period in her history.²

The royal French government, ruler of old Saint-Domingue, cared little for the spiritual and educational advancement of the island. The colonists held that priests were unrealistic in their approach to the slave question, so that they should, in their opinion, be kept few in numbers and strictly controlled in their actions. No hierarchy was formally established, and the French territory, ignoring the Spanish archbishop of Santo Domingo, was divided between two orders, the Jesuits in the North, with headquarters at Cap-Français (Cap-Haitien), and the Dominicans in the South, which included the city of Port au Prince. The Jesuits made themselves quite unpopular by trying to organize Negro churches, which were forbidden by government order³ and when the Society of Jesus was banned, the decree on the subject was issued locally with derogatory comments.⁴ However, there was less tension after their departure, and a Royal Ordinance gave legal status to the prefects of both missions, the

¹ Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian valley*, New York, 1937.

² Standard work by P. A. Cabon, *Notes sur l'histoire religieuse d'Haiti*, Port au Prince, 1933. Sketch by G. Reinhold, "Haiti", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VII, New York, 1910.

³ M. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le Vent*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1785, p. 352.

⁴ Saint-Méry, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 626 (1763 decision).

Capuchins having succeeded the Jesuits in the North. At that late time, 1781, many practices of doubtful character had crept in and could not be eradicated, the most striking one being a tax on the baptism of Negro adults, founded on the ground that they needed special training and that the slave owner in any case would pay for them. Exorbitant powers had also been vested in the churchwardens.

The great rebellion led by Toussaint Louverture put the clergy on the horns of a dilemma. They could not stand by the whites, which was what most of them did, without seeing the French republic try to incorporate them within its schismatic Constitutional Church; but the lot of those who joined the slaves in their revolt was hardly better, although some of their leaders were professed Catholics, such as Toussaint Louverture himself and Jean François, who became a general in the Royal army of Spain.⁵ A third course was followed by Father Lecun, the Dominican prefect, who joined the English at the time of their occupation of the South, 1791-1797, then left the island in their company, and came back when Toussaint Louverture made his peace with France. However, he had to leave for good when the Haitian leader was arrested and his countrymen proclaimed their independence, expelling or murdering all the French who failed to run away.

On the day of Haitian independence, January 1, 1804, there were no more than half-a-dozen priests known to remain in the new country. In the North, Father Corneille Brelle, the Capuchin prefect, was left on his own. He trusted his fate to General Henri Christophe, who set up the region as a separate kingdom, from 1807 through 1820, and even accepted a royal appointment as archbishop on the occasion of the coronation ceremonies.⁶ Public life in the kingdom was ostentatiously religious⁷ but leaning toward cesaropapism, and on account of Christophe's rela-

⁵ Jacques Nicolas Léger, *Haiti, her history and her detractors*, New York, 1911.

⁶ Comte de Limonade, *Relation des glorieux événements qui ont porté Leurs Majestés Royales sur le Trône d'Hayti*. Cap-Henri, 1811.

⁷ Jean Comhaire, "Les fêtes de la reine d'Haiti (15 aout 1816)", *La Lanterne*, Cap-Haitien, November 1937.

tions with Wilberforce, the English abolitionist, there was a definite possibility that he might have turned Anglican if the republican party had let him last longer.⁸ In the republican form of government which afterwards prevailed all over Haiti, the ruling class consisted of free-thinkers and followers of the schismatic French Abbé Grégoire, 1750-1831, the professional "Ami des Noirs".⁹

Great havoc, usually under-rated by historians, was at that time being played in church life by the Napoleonic wars and the South American revolutions. A clique of fallen-away Spanish-speaking priests soon landed in Haiti. In 1809, the government put the Port au Prince parish under the care of Father Gaspar, from Colombia. A remarkable feature of the situation was that while those in power stood firmly by their appointee, many parishioners opposed him and a minor civil war ensued, where the two parties were known as "Gasparites" and "Marionettes", respectively. The latter name was coined from Father Marion, a French Dominican who still resided in nearby Leogane. A law was passed whereby the President of Haiti appointed all parish priests and municipal churchwardens controlled their finance and other daily activities. In 1821, Pope Leo XII felt that the times were ripe for a settlement with Haiti, although no lay ruler as yet had entered diplomatic relations with the republic. Bishop Pierre Glory, of France, was sent to Port au Prince and warmly welcomed by President Boyer. As there was no other house for priests in the town, the bishop had to stay with Father Jeremiah O'Flynn, an Irish apostate, who lost no time in denouncing his guest as a spy, paving the way for a return to France of her former colony. The quarrel, probably started under cover by Abbé Grégoire, resulted in the expulsion of both and Father Salgado, a South American became parish priest of Port au Prince, where he died in 1836.

A new situation was created in 1822, when Spanish Santo Domingo became part of the Haitian Republic. The see of Santo Domingo, oldest in the New World, was held by Arch-

⁸ Reginald Coupland, *Wilberforce*, London, 1923.

⁹ Charles Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, London, 1830.

bishop Valera Ximenes,¹⁰ a man who felt little sympathy with the new regime but to whom religion came before personal taste. In accordance with a bull of 1826, he agreed to Haitian requests for an apostolic delegate and even appointed Father Salgado vicar-general for the Port au Prince region. However, President Boyer, in 1830, expelled Archbishop Valera because he would not come to stay in Port au Prince. The Spanish-speaking part of the island was left to the care of a vicar-general and Father Salgado informally extended his own jurisdiction over all the French-speaking population. Pope Gregory XVI nevertheless agreed to a further Haitian request for the negotiation of a concordat. His appointee was Bishop John England, of Charleston, South Carolina.¹¹ Bishop England paid three visits to the island, 1834, 1836, and 1837, reporting each time to Rome with a draft concordat which the Holy See rejected. The main objection was that the Haitian president wanted to appoint the bishops and to set up a native clergy, without giving indispensable safeguards in return. For a while it looked as if Bishop England had done more harm than good, because in Paris, Abbé Grégoire's party, now headed by A. Isambert (1792-1857), a noted lawyer, had been alerted and they denounced the bishop as a supporter of slavery. An organized clique of apostates, most of them from Corsica, was sent to Haiti, where they turned the de facto schism into an open revolt against the Holy See. English Methodists had been working in Haiti a few years earlier, and the Corsicans cooperated in the distribution of Protestant French translations of the Scriptures¹² though Grégoire himself had denounced the Methodist missionaries as bringing division to the country and berating the Haitian people before Europeans.¹³

¹⁰ Archbishop Nouel, *Historia ecclesiastica de la Arquidiocesis de Santo Domingo, Primada de America*. Rome, 1913.

¹¹ P. Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston (1786-1842)*, Vol. II, New York, 1927. Cf. J. L. O'Brien, *John England: Bishop of Charleston. The Apostle to Democracy*. New York, 1934.

¹² John Candler, *Brief notices of Hayti*, London, 1842.

¹³ Henri Grégoire, *De la liberté de conscience et de culte à Haiti*, Paris, 1824.

But nobody apparently doubted Haitian good will, and another legate was appointed by the Pope, in 1842. He was Bishop Rosati, of Saint Louis, Missouri, formerly in French-speaking Louisiana. The French consul, who was very unpopular with the Haitians, helped little by asserting himself as the legate's protector, but all matters were settled with surprising ease and a satisfactory concordat was soon signed. On the wall, President Boyer presumably saw the handwriting which, in 1843, was going to put an end to his 25-year administration. Unfortunately, his fall also meant the end of the concordat.

The misfortunes of the papal legates called for fresh and cautious approach to the question. Father Tisserant, a French priest connected with Toussaint Louverture's family, was sent to Haiti as apostolic prefect. He found the republic in a political turmoil, due to the erection of the Spanish-speaking provinces into the new Dominican Republic. However, the Haitian officials were very friendly and he came to the conclusion that Haiti's problem could be solved through sending good priests and let them take over the parishes gradually, with the help of a population in which he had great faith. The trouble was that Father Tisserant lost time in trying to enroll priests in Belgium and in Savoy, thinking that French-speaking priests who were not French citizens would be more popular in Haiti. He had to go back to Port au Prince with six priests, all from France, found the government under the spell of Father Cessens, a Sardinian citizen of Savoy, and had to leave the country without doing anything, before dying in a shipwreck, on his way to Africa.

The years that followed were the most confused period of the whole schism. Father Cessens was a man of poor reputation but of unusual persuasive powers, who succeeded, in 1846, in securing his recognition from Rome as Ecclesiastical Superior of Haiti. A good friend of Faustin Soulouque, who reigned as emperor of Haiti from 1849 through 1859, he travelled to Rome in 1851 and asked Pope Pius IX to arrange a coronation ceremony. The Holy Father ordered him to retire in a convent but he preferred to go back to Port au Prince, where he crowned the emperor with his own hands. When Archbishop Spaccapietra, an Italian Lazarist,

came to Haiti as Papal legate, crowds turned his private chapel into a national shrine, but the government requested the immediate appointment of a bishop for Port au Prince. Archbishop Spaccapietra left for his see of Port of Spain, Trinidad, leaving in Haiti as his personal representative Father Percin, a colored priest from Saint Lucia island. Father Cessens died an apostate in 1853 and the Emperor gave the parish to Father Moussa, a Senegalese who had come to Haiti to escape colonial prejudice.

The republican form of government was restored in 1859, by general Geffrard, whose mind was set on a settlement with the Holy See. Rather than asking for another Papal legate, he sent delegates to Rome, where they worked in an atmosphere of good will which ended in the signature of a concordat as early as March 28, 1860. The Haitian president received the right to appoint the bishops, a privilege founded on the religious loyalty of the majority of Haitians in the course of so many troubled years, and French priests came to Haiti, to restore Catholic public life, with conspicuous success.¹⁴

For the sake of clarity, we have focused our attention on Catholic developments, but other forces at work at the time of the Haitian schism deserve a glance backward, as contributors to the culture of the people of Haiti.

Protestants have been present in the country since the first days of French settlement, and Le Vasseur, the first governor of Tortuga island, off the shore of Haiti proper, in 1641-1651, himself was a Calvinist.¹⁵ However, non-Catholics were not allowed to worship in public and they had to appoint Catholic overseers for their slaves.¹⁶ King Christophe seems to have been the first Haitian to come under the spell of Protestants, as he appointed, in 1816, an English schoolteacher to supervise education in his kingdom, so that French Protestant versions of the Gospels be-

¹⁴ P. A. Cabon, *Mgr. Alexis-Jean-Marie Guilloux: Deuxième archevêque de Port-au-Prince (Haiti)*, Port au Prince, 1929.

¹⁵ Standard work by Docteur C. Pressoir, *Le Protestantisme haïtien*, Port au Prince, 1945.

¹⁶ Saint Méry, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 117 (1664 decision).

came regular textbooks.¹⁷ Missionaries, however, only arrived from London in 1819, a few months before the king's death.¹⁸

In the Republic, two Philadelphia Quakers came to preach in early 1816, but they left after two months of a stay which brought no apparent results. An English sailor then persuaded the Methodists of London to send two missionaries, who landed in Port au Prince in 1817. They made about fifty converts within a year but were expelled when a boy convert stabbed his mother, who had objected to his conversion. The local leaders promptly turned the church into an exclusive group of middle-class fundamentalists, an unexpected development, in view of the fact that one of the staunchest members of the church was a full-blooded African woman named Aurore, born at Oyo, Nigeria. However, so it was under the leadership of her grandson, Charles Pressoir, the first of a distinguished line of Haitian lay-helpers, now running their own separate church.

Considering such social tendencies, Methodism could hardly become popular with the masses, and street riots actually brought about a ban on all Protestant meetings, in 1819. On the other hand, President Boyer could not maintain such ban very effectively, as he had opened the country to American Negro immigration. This saved Haitian Protestantism but also accentuated its foreign character. When Mark Baker Bird was sent from London, in 1839, to run the church for forty years, he took such circumstances for granted, and Haitian Methodism ever since has remained an exclusive urban community, providing services in English for members of foreign descent, and in French for a small and restless Haitian congregation. Even among the immigrants, such policy was resented and free Methodist or Baptist churches soon set up.

In 1843, Bird saw his opportunity in the liberal revolution. At government request, he opened a school which soon became quite popular in town, and which received more than 1,000 pupils in 25 years, so that there is no doubt about his influence.

¹⁷ John Candler, *Brief Notices of Hayti*, London, 1842, p. 57.

¹⁸ One of them was W. W. Harvey, author of *Sketches of Hayti*, London, 1827.

Bird also was a builder and an engineer, who impressed the people with his manifold achievements. His trouble was that he could not convert them. Soon after the Concordat, in the 1860's, his Port au Prince congregation consisted of 600 members only, and there were 450 other Protestants in the town.¹⁹ An achievement for which he was hardly responsible was that of one of the early Haitian leaders (none of whom has ever been up to date ordained), who built a Methodist stronghold at Jérémie, a small port in the South, and the center of the struggle waged by the commercial class, to which Methodism now was thoroughly identified, against Emperor Soulouque's social policies. This local success was insufficient to put up for the retreat before more efficient denominations, run by American ministers, especially the Baptists, who took over from the Methodists at Jacmel, in 1845, and the Episcopalians, who started worship in Port au Prince, in 1861, led by Theodore Holly, a Negro from New Haven, Connecticut. Even these new churches nevertheless remained strictly urban in their outlook, and it would not be before the American military occupation of 1915 that they would start competing with Catholic priests in the countryside.

There is no evidence of Jewish or Mohammedan influences in Haiti though both were present under French colonial rule.²⁰ In 1778, Martinez Pasqualis, who had spread all over France a new masonic ritual known as "illuminisme", or "martinisme", landed in Port au Prince but died the next year. After independence, members of the great Sephardic families of Curaçao settled in Haiti for commercial purposes. They married locally and their descendants are all Catholics.

Free Masonry was a more important factor than the previous two. It seems to have started among the French at Cape Haitian around 1748 and some colored members were admitted at the time of the French Revolution. Though they waited till 1825

¹⁹ Mark Baker Bird, *The Black Man; or, Haitian independence*, New York, 1869.

²⁰ Saint Méry, *op. cit.*, V, p. 715 (1776 decision on Jewish civil rights), V, p. 101 (1776 decision on an "Arab" woman-slave).

before drawing up their local constitution and they had little to object to in the schismatic clergy, the order helped in ascertaining upper class, and also male superiority, and made itself conspicuous by organizing public funerals for its members, a practice which, after the Concordat, would be an endless source of trouble. There were about 1,000 masons in Port au Prince at that time.²¹

Such funerals were not the only syncretic rite that developed in the absence of regular church control. Last but not least, Voodoo became the religion of the masses. Its colonial origins are not well known, though Father Labat, writing in the early 17th Century, already accused the slaves of "imitating the Philistines."²² Our sole authority on the subject described Voodoo as a snake cult, and gave a detailed second-hand account of a ceremony, with no mention of drums and dances.²³ African tribal rivalry led to an early division between "Rada" (Dahomean) and "Congo" Voodoo, the former being in favor with the leaders of independence, while the French sponsored opposite movements, who fought the Haitian government in the La Selle mountain range until as late as 1817.²⁴ King Christophe and his brother-in-law, President Pierrot (1845-1846) are said to have protected Voodoo so long as it was pure Rada, and Emperor Soulouque inaugurated a syncretic situation at Saut d'Eau, a Voodoo center whereto pilgrimages to Our Lady of Altagracia were diverted after her main church had become Dominican territory.

President Boyer's criminal code is often mentioned as evidence that Haitian independence soon led to the use of charm bags (*dompèdres*, *ouangas*, *caprelatas*, *macandals*) and other magical practices.²⁵ But all these words are of African origin²⁶ and co-

²¹ L. Gentil Tippenhauer, *Die Insel Haiti*, Leipzig, 1893.

²² J. B. Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1722.

²³ Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description . . . de l'Isle Saint-Domingue*, Philadelphia, 1797-1798.

²⁴ Jean Comhaire, "Notions historiques sur la commune de Kenscoff, Haiti", *Le Temps*, Port au Prince, 1940.

²⁵ William B. Seabrook, *The magic island*, New York, 1929.

²⁶ S. and J. Comhaire-Sylvain, "Survivances africaines dans le vocabulaire religieux d'Haiti", *Etudes Dahoméennes*, Porto Novo, 1955.

lonial law already knew of them²⁷, so that independence and the schism cannot be held entirely responsible. Colonial law moreover consisted of a re-enactment of French law on magical practices, and made no confusion between them and Voodoo as a religion. The established fact is that the rural population worried about them and in the 1840's, the peasants of La Selle started bands of "saints" to do away with the "guyons", or sorcerers.²⁸ The beating on this occasion of an old "guyon" woman was highly reminiscent of African witch hunts. President Geffrard's administration, anxious to berate the Empire, claimed that the previous regime had let cannibalism flourish as an accepted part of Voodoo, and so did immeasurable harm to Haiti's reputation abroad.²⁹

²⁷ Saint-Méry, *op. cit.*, IV, 222 (1758 decision, French 1682 law).

²⁸ Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haiti, Années 1843-1846*, Port au Prince, 1904.

²⁹ Joseph J. Williams, *Voodooes and Obeahs*, New York, 1933.

PERSONALITY PROBLEMS AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IN A RURAL COLOMBIAN COMMUNITY

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I. *Introduction:* Zarzal (pop. 400) is a community of Mestizo farmers. It is situated in the southern Cauca Valley of Colombia, twenty-two kilometers northwest of Popayán (pop. 30,000), between the coastal and central cordilleras of the Andes. The Zarzaleños speak only Spanish and belong to the Roman Catholic Church. They lack electricity, automobiles, sewers, newspapers, post-offices, paving, and plumbing. They have a boys' school and a girls' school, each with two grades. They have a church but no resident priest, a police inspector (the top local administrative official) but no jail, a curer but no hospital. They live in small rectangular mud-walled, adobe-walled, or (rarely) brick-walled homes with gabled roofs of tile or thatch. They own their lands and plant on them a variety of crops: corn and coffee are preferred. They are loom-weavers but not pottery-makers, metal-users but not metal-workers. They sell their home-grown and home-made surplus and with the proceeds manage to live on the margin. Drinking and gossiping are their favorite social and anti-social activities. Their social organization is Eskimo in type with the following features: Eskimo cousin terminology (cross cousins classed with parallel cousins but differentiated from siblings), no exogamous unilateral kin groups, exclusive monogamy, independent nuclear family basic, lineal terms for aunts and nieces, bilateral extension of incest taboos, and neolocal residence rules. They are God-fearing, ghost-fearing people who have their work to do, their brew to drink, their talk to savor, and the whole world beyond their valley to ignore. The present article, based on a twelve-month community study of Zarzal in 1951-52, is a summary report on certain prevailing value orientations and adjustment problems.

II. *Culturally Recognized Threats:* An initial approach to

the value system of Zarzal may be made by considering the kinds of things which Zarzaleños are most apt to worry about. According to interview and observational materials, these fall into four main categories: *tierra* (land), *amigos* (friends), *salud* (health), and *alma* (soul).

A. *Loss of Property*: The Zarzaleño tends to worry over his lands and his crops. His life centers on the land which he cares for and which provides him with the means of survival. When various Zarzaleños were asked what they would buy if they suddenly found themselves with a tidy windfall, their first choice was overwhelmingly a *cafetero* (land planted with coffee trees). Lands are individually owned and almost everyone has access to a household plot; the few who do not are trying to accumulate the pesos necessary to buy one. With rising land prices Zarzaleños realize that their plots are becoming increasingly valuable, and that a loss of property would not only deprive them of a considerable economic asset but would leave them less able than ever to acquire new holdings: pesos that once bought acres now buy a few square yards. It is therefore of tremendous importance to be able to hold onto the family plot.

Not only the land itself must be retained but its products must continue to be forthcoming year after year. There is the ever-present danger that a crop will fail or turn out badly. One can never be certain that nature and the supernatural will be favorable. Personal zeal may not be enough to prevent disaster. Since the basis of the material security of the Zarzaleño is his land, he may justifiably be concerned about the plot in which he spends his working days and from which he draws his sustenance. As Zarzaleño Antonio Pinto observes: "The people think of their *cafeteros* more than anything else. Their land is what they live on and from."

B. *Loss of Human Support*: The threat of even partial social isolation is greatly to be feared. The family and community are of vital importance to the Zarzaleño. His behavior is significantly shaped by the expected or anticipated reactions of his associates. Criticism and the threat of ostracism are effective means of control because the Zarzaleño cannot tolerate the idea of liv-

ing alone. Julia Trujillo describes the period of greatest concern to her in these terms: "I guess I was alone too much. I was living in the house of my birth at the time, and it is away from things. There were no cars going by, and few people came to visit . . . I was all alone, I felt. I had no sweetheart, no children, no friends to call on me. I began to be very sad. I ate less and less, and I grew very weak."

One may also be socially isolated through one's actions and the interpretations placed on them. Emérita Moreno is constantly asking me what is being said of her by Julia Trujillo, with whom she and her family stayed for a year: Julia reciprocally presses me for Emérita's comments concerning her. People wonder what others are saying about them, and are sensitive to what others think about them. Thus the local teacher rather anxiously confides that he is becoming "almost as unpopular as Maestro X," who preceded him and who was reportedly forced to leave because "he was not well liked." The threat of losing the support of one's fellows is something to be concerned about: as Julia Trujillo notes, "No one should be alone."

C. *Loss of Health and Life:* Sickness and death are ever at hand. The universe is full of disabling forces, natural and supernatural: gripe may come today, ghost-fright tomorrow. The threat is a multiple one: if the Zarzaleño is crippled by illness, he not only suffers physically but economically and socially as well; he is unable to tend to his land and he is partially cut off from his associates. The tremendous interest in medicinal products and techniques testifies to the importance placed on the preservation of health and life.

D. *Loss of Soul and Salvation:* The above dangers are primarily material, social, and physical. But there is a spiritual danger as well to be faced. The priest underscores this danger in his sermons, and the people recognize it when they speak of lost souls and El Infierno (Hell). Zarzaleños say that they have good reason to feel concern for their souls since "We are all sinners." Whether many really expect to be consigned to Hell is debatable, but there is a belief that the powers that be are fully

capable of withholding salvation and that one is therefore wise to be careful.

The chief things that the Zarzaleño tends to be concerned about, then, are (1) his material holdings which center on and in the land, (2) his family and friends who give him a sense of belonging, (3) his health, and (4) his spiritual condition. He cannot help but recognize that all of these may regularly be in danger not only from a potentially harmful universe but from his own failure to act effectively. That the threats to his well-being derive from both an inner and an outer source is important to our later discussion. The Zarzaleño is fatalistic, but not completely so. We may next see how he meets the culturally recognized threats we have noted.

III. *Cultural Response*: Because the Zarzaleño values his *tierra, amigos, salud*, and *alma*, he seeks ways to enhance them. He has been taught from birth that the best safeguards lie in the cultivation of two key qualities, respect and industry.

The personal quality most frequently talked about and most pervasive in its connotations is *el respeto*. "*Siempre es necesario tener el respeto* (It is always necessary to have respect)." One is expected to show respect to one's associates and one's gods. Should these be disrespectfully approached, one must prepare to suffer ostracism and divine punishment (which may cause sickness and crop failure as well as endanger one's soul). One is also expected to be *muy trabajador* (very industrious). Human and divine favor is believed the ultimate reward of industry . . . when coupled properly with respect.

The difficulty is that the respect-industry combination is interpreted in two different ways. One of these appears to represent a more traditional interpretation, associated with Indian status; the other, a more recent interpretation, associated with Mestizo status. Before the status associations are discussed, the different interpretations may be presented and related to the positions taken on certain other personal qualities.

According to one interpretation, the individual should work hard to carry out the tasks assigned to him by the powers that

be. He should know his place and keep it: as a poor peasant, he should learn the labors appropriate to his status, and should not aspire to exceed it. Such aspiration is equivalent to *una falta de respeto* (a lack of respect) for the human and divine agencies responsible for making things the way they are. The emphasis is on adjustive endeavor within one's allotted sphere.

According to the other interpretation, the individual should work hard to improve his life position. He should strive actively to command the respect of others by tugging at his own bootstraps. Self-respect (*respeto de sí mismo*) also demands that he direct his labors toward bettering himself socially and economically. In short, the emphasis is on self-determination and self-promotive endeavor.

The conflict between these interpretations is further reflected in community perspectives on a number of common qualities:

Respect-Industry Perspectives

Quality	Interpretation I (tradition-oriented)	Interpretation II (progress-oriented)
	tendency toward adjustive endeavor within allotted sphere	tendency toward self-determination and self-promotive endeavor
patience	patience is essential in a world whose workings are determined by others; one must learn to put up with things one cannot alter	patience is worth while only as an aid to self-advancement; hasty, rash actions may slow socioeconomic ascent, and are thus to be avoided; patience can be useful in showing one when to act in order to make the best deal; otherwise patience should be scorned as a mere pillow for those who would pass their lives in the same bed
courage	courage means, and is accordingly valued as, the capacity to bear bravely the life burdens and trials that fall to one's lot; a courageous person is one who can suffer in silence	courage means, and is accordingly valued as, the capacity to take bold action to end one's burdens and trials; a courageous person is one who, preferring to meet fire with fire, refuses to suffer in silence
ambition	ambition should be restricted to communal ends; personal ambition is proscribed	personal ambition is eminently desirable, and communal ends are secondary

faith	one should have strong faith in the efficacy and justness of the powers that be, and according to that faith one should not presume to question or seek to change the style of life they have designed for one	one should have strong faith in the power of the individual to set his own style of life, and according to that faith one should endeavor to change a socioeconomically unfavorable life style as one sees fit
generosity	generosity is a way of showing that one is not important as an individual, that one is but an instrument to serve the wants of others; it is a way of diverting attention from oneself by avoiding a conspicuous accumulation of personal goods; it should not be advertised	generosity is a way of showing one's importance among others, of displaying the symbols of one's personal successes; it is a way of drawing attention to oneself by exhibiting the goods one has managed to accumulate; when expediently advertised, it is a way of attracting more goods
dignity	through dignity one can maintain inward and outward equilibrium in adjusting to situations and events determined by the powers that be; dignity is reactive and protective	through dignity one can maintain the composure necessary to capitalize on the best profit-making opportunities; dignity is a useful device in wresting possessions and preferment from the world
humor	humor affords a measure of relief from the hardships one must endure; one can laugh at troubles one cannot end	humor affords a means of making hay while the sun shines; by laughing with the right people one can benefit socioeconomically
wisdom and knowledge	the limits to what one may know are set by status; a wise man is one who knows the requirements of his place in life and can observe them without mistakes	the limits to what one may know are set only by one's individual capacity; a wise man is one who can use his knowledge to better his place
courtesy	courtesy is a way of abasing the self by showing deference to others; through courtesy forms social allegiance may be continually reaffirmed	courtesy is a way of promoting the self by exchanging compliments for good will; through courtesy forms one may cultivate those who can facilitate one's personal socioeconomic advancement
sympathy	sympathy is a way of feeling a oneness with humanity, of sharing common problems, of immersing the self in the group	sympathy is a way of discovering and playing on the weaknesses of others for personal advantage, of apprehending conditions of human degradation the better to surmount them
modesty	modesty is a way of presenting oneself in shadows in the interests of attesting the relative insignificance of the individual; a modest bearing is an absence of posing and an investment in social anonymity	modesty is a way of presenting oneself in the most favorable social light in the interests of self-advancement; a modest bearing is a pose useful in securing social esteem and an investment in socioeconomic preferment

In relating these perspectives to the historical background of the Zarzaleños, it may first be observed that since the 1737 founding of the pueblo the people of Zarzal have been at the bottom of the national socioeconomic ladder. When the Indian ancestors of the pueblo founders were brought under Spanish domination, they were relegated to a subordinate position which persisted through succeeding generations down to the present. The fathers, grandfathers, and forefathers of the present-day Zarzaleños were unable to alter their "poor peasant" role, and not unnaturally there is a strong feeling among them that no matter what they may do they are going to stay right at the bottom of the socioeconomic heap.

Historically, then, there has been a solidly realistic basis for judging that one's own behavior may carry little weight, that the only truly effective forces are external to the self and beyond one's control, that one's position in life is fixed and not to be altered, and a fatalistic outlook has tended to be encouraged. This outlook may well have pre-Conquest roots: throughout much of the Andean area the natives who survived the Conquest were mainly non-rulers whose life positions had been fixed and whose orders could come from lips which might seldom be seen but which moved with divine sanction and force. Where such roots penetrated, they facilitated the work of the Conquistadores and were well suited to the acculturation era, in which the dominant, conquering group and their descendants determined policy and brooked no opposition.

And Zarzaleños often show in their actions and words strongly fatalistic tendencies, holding that "it is in hands other than ours." This fatalism is one way of dealing with a universe that cannot be effectively opposed. An adjustive passivity is favored, and is reflected in the kinds of perspectives noted in the left-hand column of our chart.

Extreme passivity, however, would leave the fields fallow and the meals uncooked. The cultural solution associated with traditional expediency is industry limited by place. Indeed, one cannot "passively" follow the course laid out for one without toil. One should work hard in the fields and in the kitchen but one

should not envy others or covet what is theirs. This is, in fact, just what the Zarzaleños' priests and socioeconomic betters have been telling them for years.

People who are pushed around may understandably wish to push back. But Zarzaleños, who have been pushed around quite a bit over the years, have not had anyone to push back except themselves. Aggressive tendencies have had to be turned inward. One sign of this is the malicious gossip with which the Zarzaleños castigate themselves. This gossip is a behind-the-back activity: direct face-to-face aggression is traditionally ineffective, and it is difficult for the Zarzaleño to tell his neighbors off unless he has had so much beer or aguardiente that the old inhibitions are relaxed.

Aggressive tendencies may be turned not only against one's community but against oneself. Thus the Zarzaleño may run himself down and openly admit that he is nothing but a poor sinner. His priest will probably back him up in this. The Zarzaleño knows that only the *brujos* (witches and sorcerers) are supposed to envy others, and that *brujos* are very bad people: thus when the Zarzaleño feels that perhaps he has a right to more than he has, *envidia* (envy) is being promoted and he may chide himself as a bad person. In speaking of personal "unworthiness" and "sinful" ways, the self is cited almost as readily as the neighbors. Projection of internalized aggression is evident in the plethora of hostile spirits recognized and the readiness to ascribe malevolent intentions to others.

Since direct resistance to outside pressures has not been opportune, more devious means have been favored. City people often speak of the *campesino* (country peasant) as artfully evasive and perfidious. Without pressing this judgment too far, and without casting it in moral terms, we may note that there is a certain truth to it with respect to Zarzal. Evasiveness is evidenced in the convenient fictions invented by Zarzaleños to get out of doing something they do not wish to do. It would be rude and disrespectful according to the code of adjustive passivity to refuse a request directly, and thereby to place oneself in the traditionally ineffective position of offering open resist-

ance to the demands of others; it is considered foolhardy thus to court retaliation.* A refusal must be so framed that the request is classified as beyond one's capacity to grant. The everyday powers of the individual are traditionally held to be so slight that this is conveniently easy to do. Collectively excuses are recognized as largely fictitious, but in any specific instance both the offerer and recipient of an excuse are ready to be convinced. Evasiveness is a device that has proved much more effective than directness, and the Zarzaleños understandably make use of it.

Similarly, the daily perfidies of the Zarzaleño are a way of avoiding a face-to-face showdown. He may criticize a person absent when he cannot criticize that person present. He may agree to do something he has no intention of doing simply to avoid open controversy. Passive resistance is the preferred policy and evasiveness and a politic *perfidia* are its byproducts.

The lack of creativity and originality in arts and crafts may be a consequence of the traditional emphasis on working within a given sphere and not presuming to go beyond it. Since the founding of the pueblo Zarzaleños have had their work cut out for them and have not been encouraged to cut in new places chosen by themselves. Artistic activity in the area was reportedly stifled during the Colonization by Spanish overlords who exacted their tribute at the expense of the native arts and crafts.

Historically, then, the Zarzaleños have been encouraged to follow a course of passive adjustment to forces which could not be opposed directly and openly. The inturmed aggressiveness, evasiveness, and petty perfidy which tend to be shown by Zarzaleños may all be interpreted as psychological concomitants (perhaps readily adapted from a pre-Conquest pattern) of this course. The life approach which calls for compliance and concession in the face of opposition permits only devious means of resistance.

But this is only one side of the picture which might be drawn of Zarzaleños. Another dimension must also be noted: new

*especially by ostracism, divine retribution (notably spirit attacks), and sorcery.

orientations are emerging which call for more than a submissive adjustment to the powers that be.

The partial isolation of the pueblo has given the Zarzaleños a certain independence in their daily lives. Contacts with their social and economic betters are limited. At the same time the Zarzaleño has been able to make trips to the city and to use many of its conveniences. The scorn which his city cousins show toward country ways is clear to him. He hears more and more about the desirability of "progress" and the undesirability of rural poverty and "backwardness." For some time his own leaders have been talking about the need for *progreso*: this tendency to turn from the old ways has been significantly reflected in the relatively recent change in the ethnic status of the Zarzaleño from Indian to national Colombian Mestizo.

The Zarzaleños believes that many of his troubles are related to his past identifications. He no longer likes to consider himself a member of what he often calls *la raza estúpida* (the stupid race). But his status has changed only within the lifetime of the living. Not only were the elders among the 1890 signers of the land-allotment petition which served as an official marker for the start of the transition period, and which began "We, the Indians of Zarzal," but most Zarzaleños were on hand to witness the official close of the transition period forty years later, when individual land-title arrangements were finally completed.

Ultimately both racial and cultural factors were involved in the status change. Of the two types of factors, the more important and definitive were cultural. Zarzaleños themselves assert that "true" Indians are people with a distinct dress and language who cannot sell their lands to outsiders. The cultural factors of dress and language do not in themselves appear to be as diagnostic in this area as in Mesoamerica: though they serve to distinguish Guambia and Paez Indians from national Colombian Mestizos, they do not serve to distinguish the Coconuco Indians, for example, from national Colombian Mestizos. A far surer criterion is land ownership: when land titles are vested in the community (reservation) the people are Indians; when land titles are individually owned and salable the community

members are national Colombians. By the time individual land ownership is achieved by a group of Indians, they may have been preparing for a status shift for many years, and may long ago have forsaken a native costume and idiom: such was the case in Zarzal. It is certain that the Zarzaleño cannot be distinguished on the basis of his racial appearance from many of his Indian neighbors (who have not escaped racial mixture themselves) to the north, south, and east, but his exclusive use of the Spanish language and a non-Indian mode of dress and his lack of reservation land rights mark him as a non-member of *la raza estúpida*.

Nonetheless his ties with the past are still strong. Though the Zarzaleños do not recognize an affinity with or descent from a specific pre-Hispanic group, their way of life shows a number of links with the culture of the pre-Conquest Indians of the area. Among these are the horticultural emphasis; use of the digging stick; "labor loans" between individuals; raising of guinea pigs (the guinea pig was the only locally domesticated animal before the Conquest); hunting and gathering as supplementary subsistence activities; chewing of coca and lime; construction of small rectangular mud-grass-bamboo habitations; simple wooden bridges; primacy of foot transportation; fashion preference for gold ornaments (these are now all purchased); vertical loom; open markets; private ownership of dwellings and personal property; occasional infanticide (one case only reported by informants: this occurred more than a generation ago); sickness caused by witchcraft; cane flutes; strong belief in omens (bird-call foretelling death); and concern with spirits. However, the recognized and more immediately relevant ties are with the "civilized" Indians who were the fathers and grandfathers of the present-day Zarzaleños. The culture has indeed not changed greatly in terms of the daily activities of the Zarzaleños since the turn of the century when Zarzal was regularly labeled a "settlement of *Indígenas*." Although the status shift has since been sanctioned officially by the cessation of the "Indian Governor-Council" form of local government, by the termination of the reservation system and by the individualization of lands, the chief

theme of the shift is this: Zarzaleños no longer consider themselves Indians.

Of course it is one thing to stop thinking of yourself as an Indian and another to get people to stop calling you an Indian. That people who called the Zarzaleño of 1900 an Indian concede that the Zarzaleño of today is not an Indian is evidently related to a current recognition that times are changing and that the only true Indians around are those whose dress and language and/or reservation affiliations set them apart and make them identifiable.

In changing his identifications the Zarzaleño was changing his ideas on what was important in life. The city ways, the "progressive" ways, were becoming more appealing to him. Emphasis on active self-promotion was seen as more appropriate to *el progreso*. A passive and patient trust in the powers that be might get a man nowhere. Men like Demetrio Trujillo and Serapio Trujillo and Saturnino Medina were working hard and making more money than the others, and the idea of individual enterprise and ambition was gaining favor. This is not to say that it was a novel or sudden idea, but only that it was a growing one. The kinds of perspectives noted in the left-hand column of our chart may carry the seeds of those in the right, and the process was one of cultivating and emphasizing the latter. The stage was set for serious conflict between the emphases of tradition and *el progreso*.

The conflict is not yet resolved nor is it likely to be for some time to come. In trying to be more active and less at the same time the Zarzaleño generally loses out either at the one end or the other. It may be observed that ambition is not prescribed for community leaders and that officials may be severely criticized if thought to be motivated by hopes of personal gain rather than a sincere desire to serve the community: nevertheless it is recognized that such community service may not be forthcoming except from the personally ambitious. The conflict between the ancestral emphasis on knowing and keeping one's place and the more recent tendency toward self-determination is a constant source of insecurity for the individual.

And no matter what the Zarzaleño does or does not do, as a long-exploited and much-slighted peasant farmer he understandably tends to feel little assurance of material, social, physical or spiritual benefits. Crop failures, criticism, infirmity and doubts come to everyone. If one heeds the byways of personal ambition one *may* have better crops and better health, and if one inclines toward immersion in the common lot one *may* have fewer doubts and more friends: but one cannot have everything and it may often seem that no matter how one acts nothing turns out the way it should. There is a high level of uncertainty that a given type of behavior will bring material, social, physical or spiritual rewards. The culturally approved responses to the four main kinds of recognized anxieties (1) tend to be conflicting and (2) tend to be inadequate.

The result is that the Zarzaleño tends to be suspicious both of those who call for self-constraint and those who call for open self-promotion. His strong ties with the past encourage self-constraint, but these ties are being rejected along with past identifications: his *progreso* orientations encourage open self-promotion, but these orientations are not yet well established. The insecurity of his position is reflected in a higher incidence of relief drinking and neuropsychic breakdown than observed in nearby groups that lacked a comparable status shift.* The evidence suggests that the main problem facing the Zarzaleños is the development of a psychologically adequate adjustment between the tenacious demands of tradition and the growing demands of *el progreso*. In coming to seek what is new the Zarzaleños must answer to their fathers and to their fathers' gods.

*Cf. Sayres, W. C., Disorientation and Status Change, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1956; Status Transition and Magical Fright, *América Indígena*, October, 1955; Ritual Drinking, Ethnic Status, and Inebriety in Rural Colombia, in press, *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 1956.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN LAMBA TALES*

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The degree to which a body of folklore mirrors the characteristics of its culture has been a source of speculation and a field for research for folklorists and anthropologists. The main portion of this paper presents a limited approach to the problem based on a restricted aspect of culture, the relationships among the various members of an extended family among the Lamba of Northern Rhodesia. It compares the culture, as shown in ethnographic reports, with analogous situations in the folk tales. Information about the ethnology of the Lamba is taken from the basic study by Doke,¹ and the corpus of tales used was collected by the same author.²

Two traits which strike me as being characteristic of Lamba culture are 1) fairly equal advantages of the sexes, and 2) a very elaborate law code which is connected with great reverence for and dependence on the chiefs, and from which seems to be derived fairly frequent capital punishment. Great obedience and reverence towards elders is also characteristic. As an example of the first statement, the men hold chieftainships and most of the political power and influence. Polygyny is also practiced, a state advantageous for men. On the other hand, marriage is matrilineal, and women have a right to choose their marriage partners whereas men ordinarily have little to say in this respect, since their wives are usually chosen by the parents.

Typical of the tales in which the law code is emphasized

*This study was first made as a part of a course in the folk tale under Dr. Stith Thompson.

¹ Doke, Clement M., *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*, George G. Harrap and Co., London, 1931.

² Doke, Clement M., *Lamba Folklore*, *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society* vol. 20, New York, 1927.

as well as the authority of the chief is Doke no. 21, in which a man causes his mother-in-law to die. He is taken before the chief who hears the case and pronounces a verdict of "not guilty." In about twenty tales out of the 159 of the Doke collection, the chief is consulted and pronounces a verdict at the end of the tale. Often the verdict can be interpreted as a moralistic statement in which case the fact that the chief pronounces it makes it more impressive because of his prestige.

Much killing of persons is found in the tales. This may also be found in the culture, although, according to Doke, not so much today as in former, although fairly recent, times. Persons were subject to capital punishment for murder, rape, adultery, and certain cases of theft. Falling prey to animals was probably also common.

Obedience of small children to elders is much stressed in the culture, but not in the tales, although there seem to be only a few tales in which child-to-elder relationships take place without being more specific. Doke no. 19, however, shows children claiming attention and good treatment from elders, which is refused. This may be a form of moralizing to elders. Or it is possible that the period in life during which elders must be deferred to creates resentment in the children, and that the tale arises from this condition.

Polygyny is practiced among the Lamba, but it is not frequent. Women do not wish their husbands to marry additional wives. More than one wife is also seldom mentioned in the tales, and the exception is invariably accompanied by friction. In no. 119, for instance, Chameleon wants to marry a second woman with whom he has fallen in love. He obeys her order to kill his first wife, but ends up disastrously without any wife.

The fact that marriage is usually outside one's home village is shown in many tales. On the other hand, no mention is ever made of clan exogamy and the tabus connected with it. Possibly these matters were taken for granted, and little transgression occurred. Doke mentions no transgression of the exogamy rule and stresses the care which is exercised by brides and bridegrooms in following it.

Doke mentions occasional famines in Lambaland. Several tales describe famines and are concerned particularly with the distribution of food during this time. Greed is portrayed but condemned in the tales. No. 37 shows a man who eats food intended for his wife during a famine, and who comes to a bad end. Communal sharing of large animals is also brought out in the tales, but it is not mentioned in the ethnological treatise.

Witchcraft is practiced and feared considerably among the Lamba, to the extent that no natural causes of death are recognized. The witch-doctors are feared and revered greatly. On the other hand, Doke points out no provisions for witchcraft in the law code, indicating that its importance has perhaps been exaggerated. The fact is, however, that witchcraft is hardly mentioned in the tales. The reason for this may be the great fear of the witch-doctors. It is a proverb that witch doctors are "not to be fooled with." Perhaps for this reason they are left out of the tales, although they seem to make frequent appearances in the proverbs. In the tale material almost all deaths are due to killing. But the great fear and hate of witchcraft may cause its absence in the tales which are, after all, primarily secular entertainment and do not have mythological or religious significance.

For a more detailed and exact sampling, I should like to present evaluations of the relationships among various members of families in the tales and to see how they correspond to these in the culture. I have taken all instances of relationships which seem to have a bearing on the plots of the tales, and which are "featured." Relationships mentioned only casually were not used. I have considered both the number of the relationships and their quality—good, bad, and bad but with conciliation at the end—and also the attitude which is taken in the tale towards the characters. The person responsible for the poor quality of a relationship was tabulated as the "villain" in the plot. Since only featured relationships were considered there is probably an inordinate number of bad relationships because of the degree of conflict necessary for the plot of the tale. Certain judgments in classification were arbitrary, of course, and allowance must

be made for misjudgment on my part.

The frequency of certain relationships and the comparative rarity of others may be significant. Husband-wife relationships are most frequent, although often unimportant. The biological family is, of course, the most important cultural unit and the reason for the frequency in the tales is comparatively obvious. Similarly frequent, probably for the same reason, are the relationships of father to son, father to daughter, and father to child without specified sex. Parent to daughter relationships are less frequent; this is in a way contradictory to the culture, since marriage is matrilineal and the women stay with their parents longer than the men. On the other hand, although the distribution of folklore among the Lamba is probably equal among men and women, and although children learn tales from their mothers, it seems that Doke collected most of his tales from the men; it may be due to this that men appear more often as characters in the tales. In all justification, however, it must be said that this male origin of the tales seems to have exerted little other influence on their content. Contrary to expectations, women seem to have no inferior place and are not generally treated more critically than the men in the material.

Indicative of the culture is the frequency of father-in-law and mother-in-law to son-in-law relationships in the tales, compared to the almost complete absence of father-in-law or mother-in-law to daughter-in-law relationships. Marriage being matrilineal, women seldom have contact with their parents-in-law, and if such contact does exist, it is not so institutionalized as the man's period of several years' service to his parents-in-law.

Relationships between siblings are comparatively rare in the tales. Doke makes little mention of contact among siblings in Lamba culture except for the administration of property after death. Since death by illness is rare in the tales, this function of the brother of the deceased is also absent. In the cases where several siblings are mentioned, they serve mostly as stylistic vehicles for repetition.

Contacts between more distant relatives such as those of uncle and aunt to nephew are rare and appear to have no special

significance in either folklore or culture. Contacts between children and grandmothers are moderately frequent in the tales. In the culture, correspondingly, a child spends several years after he is weaned living with his grandmother.

Next let us examine the quality of the relationships mentioned. Thirteen tales feature husband-to-wife relationships. Of these, four were classified as good (nos. 13, 17, 62, 136); three as bad with conciliation (nos. 36, 45, 118); and six as bad (nos. 38, 39, 44, 137, 141, 153). The large number of bad relationships is not indicative of the same in the culture. Doke does indicate, however, that marriage ties are considerably looser among the Lamba than among some other African tribes, particularly, he says, because of the lack of bride-wealth among the former. Divorce is easy and there are many cases of both men and women having had more than four spouses. The attitude towards marriage is not that of lifelong companionship. This however, cannot really account for the large number of bad relationships in the tales. We must again take into consideration that conflict of some sort is necessary for a tale of the kind in Doke's collection.

Of the nine bad husband-to-wife relationships, six were caused by men, three by women. This act is difficult to interpret since it is contrary to other tendencies in the tales. Possibly the prevalence of male villains is due to the prevalence of men as characters in general.

Father-in-law to son-in-law relationships are tabulated as three bad but conciliated (nos. 4, 48, 107), and three bad (nos. 105, 108, 109). Father-in-law and son-in-law are each responsible for three. Bad relationships here may reflect the resentment of the son-in-law for having to work for his parents-in-law for about two years after marriage. This, in turn, may arouse reciprocation in the father-in-law. But Doke says that in the culture men are generally agreed that they received good treatment at the hands of their parents-in-law. Some of the stories may be considered humorous, possibly, making the bad relationships seem like buffers against an unfounded but present and perhaps repressed feeling of resentment.

Similar reasons may be given for similar tabulations of son-in-law to mother-in-law relationships, bad (nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, 122); conciliated (nos. 25, 26, 37, 96); although there are a few instances where the relationship is good (nos. 126, 145). The tales of this group could also be humorous in several instances, such as those in which the mother-in-law sets tasks for the son-in-law to prove his love for her, or where she seduces him. Again, the humor may cover up unjustified feelings of resentment. The mother-in-law is the villain in six of the instances, the son-in-law only in three. The fact that this is largely men's folklore may account for this fact. Doke indicates that in the culture mothers-in-law are more likely to supervise the work of sons-in-law than their husbands. This may account for the greater harshness displayed towards mothers-in-law in the tales.

Father-to-son relationships are good in four cases (12, 78, 90, 139), and bad but conciliated in six (nos. 42, 68, 72, 89, 101, 119). It is significant that here there are no actually bad relationships, a fact which is not mentioned in the description of the culture. The son is responsible for the bad relationships in the tales, most often through disobedience, a prime offence among the Lamba.

Mother-to-son relationships are similar to the father-to-son ones and may be interpreted similarly,—good (1, 93, 104, 150); conciliated (2, 102); bad (11, 71),—although the mother is responsible for two of the bad ones. Father-to-daughter relationships are good in the two cases (50, 81); but mother-to-daughter conciliated in two (120, 152) and good in one (127).

The over-all picture shows the relationships between men and women generally good, at least as good as between relatives of the same sex. This is probably a reflection of the culture, in which men and women have roughly equal status and power. On the other hand, responsibility for bad relationships rests more heavily on women's shoulders, although by a slight margin. This might be interpreted as due to the men's origin of the tales, and that men are the best-known raconteurs. Lamba culture is reflected to a considerable extent in the tales. Most of the tales which deal with social life show correspondences in fact, and there is only little evidence of other factors, such as sur-

vivals of older conditions and psychological repressions, escape mechanisms, and other manifestation in the tales which contradict the cultural data.

